# Witte's Memoirs Throw Light on Causes of Russian Collapse

## Recollections of the Russian Bismarck protective legislation for the factory

Count Gives Frank Picture of His Own Person- ed, and the Bolshevik revolution was ality and Achievements

THE MEMOIRS OF COUNT WITTE anese War, which, in turn, may be conmolinaky. Published by Doubleday, Page lution.

Anese War, which, in turn, may be considered a direct cause of the 1905 revoments and criticizes the Memoirs of

sliterary event of the first importance. competent and vain. He has to his credit three noteworthy achievements-the building of a large network of railways, the stabilization of Russia's finances by the introduction the negotiation of the Peace of Ports-

who placed implicit confidence in him. And just as Wilhelm II threw over Bismarck, so Nicholas II discarded his

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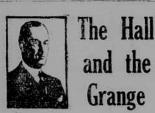
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of the memoirs, which were, however, sequently occupied the post of Ambas-OUNT WITTE is unquestionsuccessfully concealed by the dead sador to France. M. Iswolsky gives ably the foremost Russian statesman's family. The ruler's curi- the following description of Count statesman since Peter the osity is understandable, for the picture Witte: Great, and the publication of of Nicholas drawn by Witte is far his memoirs, which are written with his memoria, the Czar is repre-extraordinary vigor and frankness, is sented as at once cruel, deceitful, in-

### Portrait of Nicholas

"I may observe here," writes Count Witte, "that his majesty does not toler- are generally of high stature, and his ate about his person anybody he con- whole frame suggested something that siders more intelligent than himself or might have been shaped by the rude the negotiation of the reace of Ports anybody with opinions differing from blows of an ax. His features would those of the court camarilla.

esled the Russian Bismarck. The mod-underground ways. He has a veritable semblance to the portraits of Michael passion for secret notes and methods. Angelo. His bearing was rough, and Even at the most critical moments, apparently so by intention; perhaps he such as the period which immediately affected a brusque manner to hide the preceded the granting of the constitu- embarrassment which he felt at court, tion, his majesty did not relinquish his and in the high society of the capital Byzantine' habits. But, inasmuch as a milieu to which he never became he does not possess the talents of accustomed. But in spite of his rather There is one point in which Witte's either Metternich or Talleyrand, he shabby appearance and the awkwardpalicy differed radically from that of usually lands in a mud puddle or in a ness of his manners he produced, on The Russian pool of blood."

This criticism is all the more biting and originality." estently on the side of peace, believing because it comes from a man who is a Analyzing Witte's career, M. Iswolfirm believer in the monarchical prin- sky admits his great services, but would be ruined by war on a large ciple of government. Count Witte does takes issue with him on several points. scale. He bitterly attacks the irre- not claim to be a liberal; he believes He feels that Witte's construction of sponsible clique of adventurers who in autocracy, but in strong, enlightened the Chinese Eastern Railway ultimately persuaded the Czar to embark on a and intelligent autocracy. He repeat- brought on the clash between Russia policy of aggression in the Far East edly predicts that the amazing stupid. and Japan. He also disagrees with and thereby brought on the Russo-Jap- ity and lethargy of the Czar's regime Witte's theory that Russia's induswill end in a bloody catastrophe. As tries should be expanded and stimuhe died in 1915, he must be given lated by every possible means. The credit for prophetic foresight.

Russian military and naval forces in working class which constituted a disthe Far East Count Witte was appoint- tinct menace to orderly government. ed chief plenipotentiary to negotiate peace. The conference was held at Quite the liveliest posthumous dis-Portsmouth, Me., and President Roose- pute between Witte and Iswolsky grows velt, as will be remembered, played a out of the interpretations placed upon

The author was not favorably imtional affairs manifested by American

Impressions of American Statesmen "I should like to observe," he says, tern European powers. that upon getting acquainted with President Roosevelt and other American statesmen I was struck by their ignorance of international politics generally and European political matters to use a mild term, judgments regard-Here is one gem: 'There is no room in Europe for Turkey, because it is a Moslem country, and it does not matter who gets its European possessions.' And another: 'Why not restore a strong, independent Poland? That would be both just and natural."

Upon returning to Russia Count Witte found the country seething with tied up the country's railroads and industry, the peasants were rising in revolt and hyperson to the dustry, the peasants were rising in recations which fell complidustry, the peasants were rising in revolt and burning the country homes of
the landowners and many units of the

lution, analyzing the political complications which followed the convocation
of the First Duma in considerable delt may be wondered what arguments

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lution, analyzing the political complications which followed the convocation
of the First Duma in considerable de-Vested nominally with supreme a dangerous liberal in court circles, with a government which has anpower and authority by the Czar. Witte attempted simultaneously to repress

disorder and to put into practice cer- monarchy seems unquestioned. tain moderate reforms which, he felt. Witte's exhaustive knowledge of the feating their various internal opconstitution promulgated by the Czar in workings of the Russian administrative penents, Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenditch. October, 1905, was largely written by Witte. The author soon found, however, which shaped Russia's foreign policy surrounded him were incapable of fol- Entente. lowing any settled or consistent nolicy. Weak and cowardly in the hour of ary as soon as the troops gained the upper hand and subdued the insurgent upper hand and subdued the insurgent by The Macmillan Company.

UNDER THE TURK IN CONSTANTINGLE. He also addresses an appeal to the commercial self-interest of his own movement. Witte resigned his office A in April, 1906, after securing from

The author is as sharp as any revolutionist in his criticism of Stolypin's other Englishmen who were visiting up with her foreign trade. Mr. Ranreactionary regime. Witte boasts that the Ottoman Empire at that time. It some put his argument forcibly in the he did not order any executions in Pet- throws much light upon the peculiar form of a paradox at the end of the rograd during the most scute period habits of the Turks and the barbaric book: of the revolution. His successor, Stoly-pin, however, slaughtered people by splendor of the Sultanate. A fairly sia, and find very much weakened marhundreds and thousands in a time of brisk trade was carried on by English kets in Germany and France, we shall supposed peace. "Capital punishment," merchants at that time, and much of be faced with an ever-increasing bur-Witte indignantly observes, "in fact, the diplomatic intercourse between the den of unemployment, with the growth, has become an act of assassination by British envoy and the Porte consisted in fact, of the very conditions in which the governmental authorities."

When Stolypin was finally murdered relations. by one of his own secret service agents Witte remarks that he fell a victim to his own system of espionage and terror.

Causes of Russian Collapse Witte's Memoirs throw a powerful earchlight upon the causes of Russia's collapse. The government of Nicholas II and his courtiers could have survived only in an utterly backward Oriental or African country. The Russo-Japanese War shook the Czarist régime to its foundations; the masses of the Russian people.

Witte, like Turgot before the French Revolution, did everything in his power to averf the impending catastrophe. He repeatedly attempted to persuade the Czar to take s me steps toward improving the condition of the

workers. His warnings went unheed-Russian ruling class refused to give up anything in 1906 they lost everything in 1917

BECOLLECTIONS OF A FOREIGN MIN-ISTER By Alexander Iswoisky Trans-ISTER by Alexander Iswoisky Trans-Isted by Charles Louis Seeger. Pub-lished by Doubleday. Page & Co.

Of the memoirs, which were however. Count Witte. The author was Minis-After Witte's death, in 1915, the Czar ter of Foreign Affairs of the Russian

## Description of Count Witte

"The most striking points in his personal appearance were his great height and massive shoulders. He stood half a head taller than most have had character were it not for a "He is incapable of playing fair and malformation, almost a fracture, of Witte may not inappropriately be he always seeks underhand means and the nose, which gave him a certain re-

> author believes that this policy helped After the crushing defeat of the to create in the cities a revolutionary

the whole, a great impression of force

The Bjorkoe Treaty

succeeded in securing peace without providing for an offensive and depaying an indemnity and without fensive alliance among Russia, Gerceding any Russian territory except the southern half of the island of Saghalin.

RTHUR RANSQME'S new upheaval, and, at the same time, desire book on Russia possesses are birth of the Russian market which this treaty, concluded without the knowledge of the French Foreign Ofpressed by the knowledge of interna- fice, constituted a deliberate act of treachery to France and an actual offensive and defensive alliance between shevik Premier gave assurances that ble, to improve the chances of collapse instincts of labor leaders. He believes Russia and Germany against the west- Russia's future energies would be de- at home."

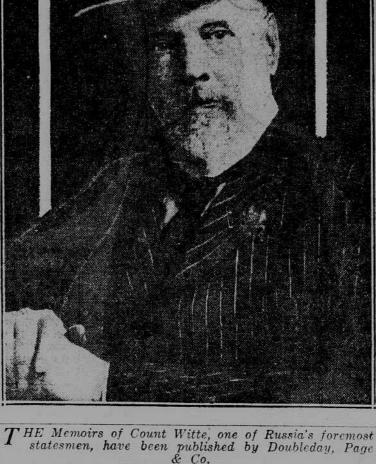
lenient in his judgment of the Czar, always been favorably disposed toward something of an economist since the tional anti-strike law. contends that the treaty was dependent the Bolsheviki; but his present book publication of his first book, which was The author is convinced that Amer-France, and that Nicholas, in conclud- does not give a very cheerful picture chiefly a series of personal sketches, ica made a disastrous mistake in renot of treachery. Eventually the obnoxious compact was scrapped, largely disillusioned radicals, Mr. Bertrand place, there is the long blockade, immost prominent American statesmen. as a result of the unremitting efforts Russell and Mrs. Philip Snowden; but posed by the war, which cut Russia off by denounces what he calls the jingoes rified to learn of the engagement which nomic ruin, governed despotically by and by the subsequent Soviet regime. with Mexico. He feels that race prejuhis sovereign had entered into behind a small fraction of the population. As a result, the poorly developed Rus-his back. The Bjorkoe treaty, an intrigue designed to separate Russia democracy, in the American sense of foreign imports for essential machin- during the war.

but as he expresses unbounded admira- parently given such striking proofs of

M. Iswolsky does not possess Count viki have shown their vitality by demachinery, but he contributes some and Wrangel, and by repulsing the atvaluable information about the factors tack which was launched by the Poles

## Turkish History

of disputes about various commercial alone we shall ourselves be unable to



## Impressions of Soviet Russia

Ransome and Brailsford State the Case for Trade With the Bolshevik Government

M. Iswolsky, who is always more some is a British journalist who has The author evidently has become clared that he would not obey a nafrom France, is doubtless the basis for the ex-Kaiser's ridiculous claim suspended, and elections are always of nations.

The word, there is not a trace. The ery, languished and decayed. Then a large proportion of the city workmen divided allegiance are set forth. Mr. were mobilized by the Bolsheviki, and manipulated in such a way as to give many of them were killed in the civil Valera's triumphal reception in many

tion for M. Stolypin his loyalty to the moral and material failure. Ransome last spring. He does not think it likely which shaped Russia's foreign policy and led to the creation of the Triple overthrown, and, if it should be overthrown he believes that the chaos and misery in Russia would only be intensified.

FRAGMENT of Turkish history countrymen. Russia, he says, can really is outlined in this work, which get along without England better than French and British bankers a large covers the period from 1674 to 1681. England can get along without Russia. French and British bankers a large covers the period from 1074 to 1081.

The Russian can somehow scratch a meager living out of the soil, but Engthe British Ambassador and of several iand's prosperity is absolutely bound

recover from the war. In such condi-

80 Papers in

18 States and Countries :-

successfully tried to combat this drift Empire and the United States.

workmen out of the villages.

Lenine's Views

Lenine himself, according to Mr.

ing it, was guilty of bad diplomacy, but of the Soviet regime. He is less sweep- He contributes a detailed analysis of fusing to enter the League of Nations the factors making for the disintegra. in 1919. He emphasizes the necessity ister of Foreign Affairs, who was hor- he admits that Russia is now an eco- from the German and Polish markets, who would embroil us in hostilities

fact that the Communists desire that consciously projected against a backupheaval, and, at the same time, desire ground of universal and national un RTHUR RANSOME'S new upheaval, and, at the same time, desire book on Bussia possesses a rebirth of the Russian market which rest. He discusses with vigor and devoted to the Socialist cause.

Fabian Society and declares that the dramatist is a hard worker, sincerely beat his wife in various directions. He book on Russia possesses a rebirth of the Russian market which rest. He discusses with vigor and devoted to the Socialist cause. the author's recent inter- likely, while those who most fear up- clarity many disturbing tendencies of The author suggests the human pro- is absolutely a walking encyclopedia, a seaval are precisely those who urge us, the present time: lawlessness, race totypes of two of Shaw's characters fact which is particularly to be reby making recovery in Russia impossi- prejudice, imperialism, the grasping dat, in The Doctor's Dilemma, is, actions or is heckled in debate." that Mr. Gompers came perilously close

of the large estates lured many indus- his case. He reprobates the individuals

# Heywood Broun says:

seems to us a more vivid and imaginative piece than 'Abraham Lincoln.' This, to our notion, sets it definitely among the finest of modern historical plays, second, we should say, to Shaw's 'Cæsar and Cleopatra,' but to nothing else. It is more eloquent than 'Lincoln'; and touched definitely with a rhythm of humor which humanizes it. 'Mary Stuart' is a play with a pulse.

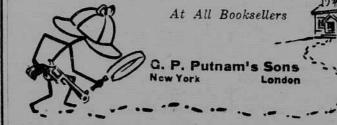
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# gent laws providing for compulsory Life Among the London Radicals

Descriptions of Many Famous Figures in Eduard Bernstein's Book Ransome, is not overconfident of the

opposition that will overwhelm result of the representations of the liam Morris.

you?' Lenine laughed. 'If I could German imperial government. He then The author notices one marked char-

than Mr. Ransome in his description and others. of the food situation and of economic conditions in general. He passed much in London is by far the most interof his time outside of Moscow and esting part of his meaning the conditions in general. of his time outside of Moscow and esting part of his memoirs, although Webb, and between Ramsay and Mar-Petrograd in country districts, where his accounts of the various secret con- garet Macdonald. He does not agree the food supply was probably more gresses, successfully held outside the with the opinion that Mrs. Webb is abundant than in the large cities. German frontiers by the Social Demo- really abier than her husband. Even the cities, however, in his judg- crats despite the espionage of the "Propie who from their youth up ment, are not worse off than the cities Kaiser's police, are full of humor and ward have enjoyed a superior educaof central Europe which he visited spirit. He was sufficiently cosmopolition, as was the case with Beatrice Potafter the armistice. Petrograd has tan in his tastes to appreciate the adter, exhibit, as a rule, in intellectual shrunk greatly in population, but the vantages of English life; and he left matters a manner which makes them remaining inhabitants impressed Mr. London to return to Germany, he tells appear superior to those who have ob-Brailsford as generally more healthy us, with genuine regret. It is another tained this knowledge only in later and robust than the inhabitants of proof of Bernstein's internationalism years, although their knowledge need The author praises the work of the ci lists, ne has been most frank and or abundant than that of the latter Soviet government in combating dis- outspoken in admitting Germany's re-

Soviet régime contrasts curiously with warmhearted, hospitable man, who com-the harshness which the Bolsheviki bined notable personal charm with prohave generally displayed in repressing found scholarship. His house was us- and her arresting conversational powually full of guests, who were always ers, certainly made a greater impresdistinguished either by their intellec- sion than Sidney Webb, who was barely Modern Problems tual gifts or by their work for the Socialist cause.

PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY. By Moorfield Storey. Published by Houghton Mifflin Company. Impression that Bernard Shaw is a bureaucrat. But that is a long time control of the contro

Ransome, is not overconnect of the success of his experiment. The Soviet MT TEARS OF EXILE. By Eduard Bern-t cording to Bernstein, a fairly exact Premier in the course of an interview admitted that the peasants desired free trade, and that the socialization of agriculture in Russia is a distant at the corresponding to Bernstein, a fairly exact Published by Harcourt. Brace & Howe Published by Harcourt. Brace & Howe won the love of Karl Mark's daughter, Eleanor. Eleanor, Eleanor, Eleanor, Eleanor, Eleanor, Eleanor, Toronton, like that at the peasants distant at the socialization of the moder-toronton, like that at the peasants distant at the socialization of the moder-toronton, like that at the peasants distant at the socialization of the moder-toronton, like that the socialization of the moder-toronton of the man socialism, was driven into nally she was driven to commit suicide "Finally," says the author, "I asked exile by the harsh anti-Socialist legis. when she learned that Aveling had connim point blank: To you think you lation enacted by Prince Bismarck. For tracted a marriage behind her back and will pull through far enough econom- a time he helped edit the paper Sozi- was preparing to cast her off. Bernically to be able to satisfy the needs sidemokrat in Zurich; but, with the stein also believes that the character of of the peasantry before that same other members of the staff, he was Morelli in Candida was modeled upon peasantry had organized a real political finally expelled from Switzerland as a that of a radical clergyman named Wil-

answer that question, he said, I could went to England, where he lived for acteristic of the British labor and radenswer everything, for on the answer many years, becoming acquainted with ital movement. Its leaders are often to that question everything depends. many prominent figures in London carnest Christians, generally members I think we can. Yes, I think we can, radical and intellectual circles, such of some Nonconformist sect. In this But I do not know that we can."

as Marx and Engels, the two founders respect they are very different from the Mr. Brailsford, who spent two of classical socialism; George Bernard majority of the Continental radicals. months in Russia during the fall of Shaw, William Morris, Sidney and who are atheists and materialists. 1920, is somewhat more optimistic Beatrice Webb, Ramsay MacDonald There are many delightful personal

that, of all the German moderate So- not on this account be more profound Soviet government in combating dis-ease and illiteracy, in stimulating cul-sponsibility for the outbreak of the haps have existed during the early children. This last feature of the The author represents Engels as a years of the Webb-Potter collaboration. years rather dry in manner, and who Bernstein contradicts the popular took a long time to shake off the ex-

prominent part in bringing the belligerents together. Count Witte conducted the negotiations with skill; he succeeded in securing needs without the securing needs with skill; he securing needs without the securing needs without the securing needs without the securing needs with skill; he securing needs with skill in the The morally atrophied painter, Dube- marked when he has to answer ques-

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